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Major John Andre's German Letter

BY

CHARLES I. LANDIS

READ BEFORE THE LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1914



LANCASTER, PA.
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PREFACE

THE STORY OF A LETTER.

About a year or more ago, while coming from Philadelphia to Lancaster, I accidentally fell into the company of three gentlemen, one of whom was Eugene Snyder, Esq., of the city of Harrisburg. In the course of what to me at least was a very pleasant and interesting conversation, he remarked that he had a letter written from Carlisle by John Andre to his great grandfather, Eberhart Michael, who then lived in Lancaster, and that he thought the Lancaster County Historical Society ought to have it for preservation. I told him that I was a member of the Society, and that I knew they would greatly appreciate the gift, and he then said he would send it to me for that purpose. Time went on, and as I heard no more concerning it from Mr. Snyder, I concluded that perhaps he had made other plans, and, knowing the historical value of the letter, I did not deem it proper to suggest to him anything which might possibly not accord with his own wishes. However, recently, a member of the Lancaster Bar met Mr. Snyder at the funeral of the late Lyman D. Gilbert, Esq., who was one of the gentlemen present when the original conversation took place, and Mr. Snyder told him that he had the Andre letter, that he had promised me to give it to the Lancaster County Historical Society, and that he proposed to carry out such intention. I thereupon wrote to him, stating that I had not forgotten our talk about the letter, and that I was very glad that he still had it in remembrance, but that I deemed it indelicate even then to urge him to send it to me, and that only if according to his own good pleasure should he make the gift. If he concluded to do so, it would be received and greatly appreciated. In a few days, he sent me the letter, with a translation from the German, also a copy of the reply of Eberhart Michael, and

a certificate of the authenticity of both. The high character of Mr. Snyder is a sufficient certificate, and none better could be furnished. I immediately handed over all these papers to Mr. Steinman, the President of your Society.

The letter, through much handling, was in pieces when received, but the whole letter was there, and, with the aid of Mr. Paul Heine, the pieces were placed in proper position. Through Dr. John W. Jordan, the services of one of the ladies connected with the Pennsylvania Historical Society were enlisted, and now the letter, but for the yellowness of age, is restored almost to the condition in which it was originally. The copy of the letter sent in reply by Eberhart Michael to Andre has also been translated by Mr. Heine, and both of the translations, together with the correspondence on the subject, is appended hereto.

LETTER OF EUGENE SNYDER, ESQ., TO CHARLES I. LANDIS.

HARRISBURG, PA., May 12, 1914.

HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS,

LANCASTER, PA.

Dear Sir:—

I here enclose to you, to be by you presented to the Lancaster, Pa., Historical Society, the autograph letter of Major John André of the 7th Regiment of Royal Fusileers, to my maternal great grandfather Eberhard Michael, with his reply. The letters have been in our family now for 138 years, and have been handled so often that they are in pieces. I also here inclose an abstract from our family record, showing my relationship to Eberhard Michael, and also communication from the War Department showing the Military service of Eberhard Michael, and also my request from the War Department for information, with the reply thereto.

I am

Very truly yours,
EUGENE SNYDER.

LETTER OF CHAS. I. LANDIS TO EUGENE SNYDER.

LANCASTER, PA., May 14, 1914.

My dear Mr. Snyder,

I have just received your kind letter of the 12th inst. with the enclosures therein contained, and I am already conferring with Mr. George Steinman, President of the Lancaster Co. Historical Society, concerning them. Until the Society can send a fitting acknowledgment for itself I in its behalf wish to express the grateful appreciation of all its members for your generous and invaluable gift.

I am with sincere regards,

To

EUGENE SNYDER, ESQ.,
HARRISBURG, PA.

Very truly yours,

CHAS. I. LANDIS.

LETTER OF CHAS. I. LANDIS TO GEORGE STEINMAN, ESQ.,
PRESIDENT OF THE LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

LANCASTER, PA., May 20, 1914.

GEORGE STEINMAN, ESQ.,

President of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

My dear Sir:—

On behalf of Eugene Snyder, Esq., of the Dauphin County Bar, who resides in the city of Harrisburg, I present to your Society an original letter, written in German by Major, then Lieutenant, John Andre, of the Seventh Regiment of the Royal Fusileers. It was sent by Major Andre to Eberhart Michael, who was Mr. Snyder's great-grandfather. It has been in the possession of his family for 138 years. He sends with it a translation, a portion of his family record, and also a certificate as to its authenticity. A copy of the reply sent by Eberhart Michael is also enclosed.

Very truly yours,

CHAS. I. LANDIS.

MAJOR JOHN ANDRE'S GERMAN LETTER.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR JOHN ANDRE (THEN
LIEUTENANT ANDRE) TO EBERHART MICHAEL, OF
LANCASTER, PA.

Highly Respected Friend:

After you had made me so kind a promise when I left Lancaster, I expected to receive a few lines from you. We become easily impatient by waiting upon news we expect to be gratifying. I will, therefore, write the first letter, and although my language may be bad, it is German, because I am happy to express myself in a language in which I have engaged intercourse with so many honest and sensible men. Though I should prefer to be with you, I must say this is a fine country and the inhabitants show considerable respect towards me. We very seldom have conversation with them, because, generally, no good results from it; nothing but uncivil and hostile answers. We pass our time in making music, reading books, and await humbly our liberation, and upon more peaceable times. Myself and Mr. Despard are much engaged in playing duetts; he sends his best respects. If you see Mr. Wirtz, and Rev. Mr. Hellemuth, and H. Graff, please give my respects to them,—from the last mentioned, I have received the maps, and thank him. I am, with great respect, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN ANDRE.

P. S. If you should see Mr. Slough, have the kindness to request him to write to me. His silence makes me at a loss about him.

CARLISLE, 10th April, 1776.

The address is as follows:

MR. EBERHART MICHAEL,
LANCASTER.

TRANSLATION OF COPY OF LETTER SENT IN
REPLY BY EBERHART MICHAEL TO
JOHN ANDRE.

LANCASTER, April 26, 1776.

Especially Highly Esteemed Sir:—

Your honored letter of the 10th of this month I have just now received and read the same with great pleasure. Your opinion (where you assert that you took the liberty of writing the first letter) will disappear when I tell you that already, on April 7th, I sent a letter to you with a man who (as he said) lived three miles from Carlisle and with his team passed there, and who promised me to deliver the letter to you personally. Nevertheless, how little may one depend upon such promises of people. The contents of the whole letter was nothing else but such expressions which honest friends at all times will make in high regards towards each other. They owe this to each other, having an absolute right thereto. The poor soul will profit little thereby, even if he opened the letter and withheld it from you. But just on this account is your letter to me so much more welcome, because this is convincing evidence that you did not wish to wait until I had earned something, but (if I dare say so) was paid in advance. What shall I now write? I know you are assured and convinced of my true sincerity and high esteem towards you. Nothing would please me more, if I had such talents, as to move you to read my letter with pleasure four or ten times. Nevertheless, in this case, you will find yourself disappointed. But what I fall short in this, such will be made up by my affection and high respect for you, and I know that you are kind enough to write the balance on my side.

It is with pleasure that I hear that you like so well Carlisle and its surroundings, and that the people act orderly and kindly towards you. Presumably the music suffers, and for this reason I would wish to be with you one half day a week. Perhaps it will please Heaven at some future time to arrange all national circumstances in such way that peace will again reign

and inhabitants and soldiers will again enjoy brotherly association. These colonies and Great Britain,—a people mighty and famous in the world.

I extend my greetings to Mr. Despard. What you further command me to do in your letter, I will faithfully comply with. I have already written to Mr. Thomas in York, and enclosed for him the letter of Mr. Hillegas to me, and requested him to send same to C. Baily. Tell him I remain with due high regards of respect. Especially Highly Esteemed Sir,
Your obedient servant,

The members of this Society will recall that one of your distinguished fellows, some years ago, prepared and read before you an elaborate brochure on the life of Major John Andre (see Records of Lancaster County Historical Society, Volume 8, page 142). In that article, there will be found a description of his residence and imprisonment in the borough of Lancaster. It is for this reason that I will endeavor not to duplicate with any degree of elaboration what has been there so well reported. The reiteration of those facts may well be deemed a useless repetition, and your time and patience would be without compensating results. There are, however, I think, a few new facts that can be profitably added to the story, and some of the old ones arising in Andre's career, it seems to me, ought even to be restated in reviewing the above quoted letter, so that all the circumstances pertaining to it may, as far as possible, be made clear. I hope I may be pardoned for going over the same to the extent of introducing a connecting thread into the narrative.

It has not been determined with certainty whether John Andre was born in London or Southampton. The strong presumption, however, is that the former was his birthplace. Nor can there be found stated in the works of any of his biographers the day or the date of his birth. Some give the year of his birth as 1749, and others as 1752. Both these years, however, would seem to be erroneous; for, in a letter

written by him to Miss Anna Seward, dated October 3, 1769, in speaking of himself, he says: "You must consider him as a poor novice of eighteen." From this, and the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey, where it is stated that he died on October 2, 1780, at the age of twenty-nine years, it would appear that he was born in 1751. It is certain that he had acquired a knowledge of the French, German and Italian languages, in some degree of perfection, and that he had attained a considerable degree of excellence in music, painting, drawing and dancing. His father came originally from Geneva, but was engaged at London in the Levant trade. At an early age, the son was sent to the University of Geneva, and, having been there for some time, was summoned home and assigned a place in his father's counting-house. In the early part of 1772, Andre went over to Germany, and did not return to England until the close of 1773. During this period, he visited most of the courts of Europe. His relation, Mr. John Andre, was established in business as a musical composer at Offenbach, and it is certain that, during this time, young Andre visited at his kinsman's house. From these facts, therefore, we may fairly conclude that he was able to read and write German with fluency.

After he gave up his business life, he purchased a commission as Lieutenant in the Seventh Royal Fusileers. This was as early as September 24, 1771. When his Regiment was sent to Canada, Andre did not accompany it. He first came in 1774 to Philadelphia, and journeyed from thence through New York and Boston, to join the Regiment. At that time, the Governor of Canada was Sir Guy Carleton. The entrance to Canada was by way of the Sorel, and the Seventh and Twenty-sixth Regiments were sent to defend that passage. In the fall of 1775, the American troops, under General Richard Montgomery, besieged St. John, at which post Andre was stationed. On November 2, 1775, the town was surrendered. Andre wrote to a friend at home: "I have been taken prisoner by the Americans and stripped of everything

except the picture of Honora (Honora Sneyd) which I concealed in my mouth." The prisoners, about six hundred in number, were taken to Ticonderoga, and it was then ordered that the officers should continue their course to Connecticut, while the privates should be brought to Pennsylvania, where there were greater conveniences for their subsistence. General Schuyler, however, had promised the officers that they should not be separated from their men; and so, when the instructions of Congress reached the officer who was leading the prisoners to Connecticut by way of the Hudson River, they were not exactly obeyed, for all of the Seventh that were taken at St. John, officers as well as privates, were brought to Pennsylvania.

From the Hudson the course of the journey was through northern Jersey and thence by way of the Wind Gap or the Delaware Water Gap to Nazareth and Bethlehem in the Province of Pennsylvania. The Moravian Diary at Nazareth kept by the minister of that town, shows the following entry: "1775, Dec. 4. A strong column of Regulars, who had been made prisoners at the taking of Fort St. John, passed through on their way to Bethlehem, and quarters over night for a considerable number had to be provided here. They were so quiet and orderly, that we scarcely knew that there were soldiers in the place. Dec. 5. A still larger body of the same troops arrived and 20-30-40 were quartered at Several places here. Dec. 6, The first column left for Bethlehem yesterday morning, and the second early this morning, with their officers and the Provincial Commissioners, who lodged in our inn." The inn referred to was the "Rose Inn," a portion of which was standing a few years ago. The Diary of the Moravian Congregation at Bethlehem shows that on December 1, 1775, "arrived to-day some British Officers, taken prisoners at St. John en route to Philadelphia"; that on December 5, 1775, "Two hundred Royal troops taken at St. John arrived to-day," and that on December 6, 1775, "Two hundred Royal troops taken at St. John arrived to-day; quartered partly at the Sun Inn and the

Crown Inn, and left next day." It also appears that they were followed on January 30, 1776, by many of their wives and children under guard, in four sleighs, and that as the cold was severe their distress awakened much compassion, and extra clothing, blankets, etc., were furnished. There is no evidence that these prisoners were actually taken to Philadelphia. On the contrary the records and newspapers fail to show that any of them reached that city. It would therefore seem that the statement that they were "en route to Philadelphia" was only surmise. By the State Archives it is shown that British prisoners of the same regiments were kept in Reading, and as those who came to Bethlehem left on December 7, and some of them, officers and men, arrived in Lancaster on December 9, it is a fair conclusion that the prisoners came to this town by the nearest route, which was of course through Reading. They were brought here in charge of Egbert Dumont. When they all arrived in this town there were eight officers, two hundred and forty-two privates, thirty women and thirty children.

For a time, Lieutenants Andre and Despard were boarded at a public house, kept by Martin Bartgis, which was located on the west side of South Queen Street, near what was then sometimes called "Court House Square." This house is now owned by Frank McGrann, and it is immediately south of the Conestoga Bank building. On May 13, 1773, Joseph Simons, who owned the Conestoga Bank property, and Martin Bartgis made an agreement for a five-foot alley way between their respective properties, and there it is to this day "plain for all folk to see." On September 4, 1787, Bartgis purchased at Sheriff's sale "The Indian Queen," which stood, as some of us remember, on East King Street, where the Eastern Market is located. Among the bills that were rendered for payment was one in Bartgis's favor "For £7 and 6s. for chamber, fire and lights supplied to Lieutenants Despard and Andre of the Seventh." These officers afterwards moved to a house on North Lime Street, then owned by Caleb Cope, but which subsequently was the property of the Hon. A. Herr

Smith. Caleb Cope was a plasterer by occupation, and in 1774-5, was Burgess of the Borough. The officers were paroled to keep within six miles of their appointed residences, to approach no seaport, and to hold no correspondence on American affairs. Lieutenants Andre and Despard remained in Lancaster until March, 1776, when they were removed to Carlisle.

While at Carlisle, they occupied a stone house at the corner of South Hanover Street and Locust Alley. They were on a parole of honor of six miles, and were prohibited from going out of town except in military dress. It is said that, one day, Mrs. Ramsay, an unflinching Whig who lived across the street, detected two Tories in conversation with them. She immediately made known the circumstances to William Brown, Esq., one of the County Committee. The Tories were imprisoned, and upon their persons were discovered letters written in French. No one, however, could be found to read the letters, and their contents remained unknown. After this, Andre and Despard were not allowed to leave the town. They had secured fowling pieces of superior workmanship, but, on this account, being unable to use them, they broke them to pieces, declaring that "no d—— rebel should ever burn powder in them." During their confinement, one Thompson enlisted a company of militia in what is now Perry County, and marched them to Carlisle. Eager to make a display of his bravery and that of his recruits, he drew up his soldiers at night in front of the house where Andre and his companion lived, and swore that he would have their lives, because, as he alleged, Americans who were prisoners of war in the hands of the British were dying by starvation. By the importunities of Mrs. Ramsay, he was persuaded to desist. These officers were afterwards removed to York and they were exchanged some time in December, 1776. It was while Andre was in Carlisle that the letter which has occasioned this article was written.

This letter is a most extraordinary document. Its authen-

ticity cannot be questioned, for it has come direct from Eberhart Michael, and has been in the families of his descendants for more than one hundred and thirty-eight years. It was given to Charles Albright Snyder by his mother, Catharine (Michael) Snyder, a daughter of Eberhart Michael. Charles Albright Snyder died in Harrisburg on November 8, 1868, and, before his death, he gave it to Eugene Snyder, Esq., his son. It is probably the only letter written by Major Andre in German which is at the present time in existence. Any one who has read the life of Andre knows that his talents were varied and exceptional. His social relations with the people of Lancaster has been to some extent set forth in his letters to Caleb Cope, published in Sargent's "Life of Andre," but additional light upon the same subject is here presented. The names of a number of persons are mentioned by him and by Mr. Michael in this correspondence, and I think that it will be somewhat enlightening to portray before the members of the Society, so far as I am able, who these gentlemen were.

Eberhart Michael, to whom this letter was sent, was born in Germany, on December 9, 1735. He was the son of Eberhart Michael, who died here on February 4, 1765. He was married to Mary Magdalena Henneberger, on October 24, 1764, by the Rev. Thomas Barton. Pursuant to the resolves of the Committee of Correspondence for the City and County of Philadelphia, a number of the inhabitants of the County of Lancaster met on July 9, 1774. George Ross, Esq., was in the chair, and Eberhart Michael acted as secretary. The meeting passed eleven resolutions, which are called "The Lancaster Resolves." On December 15, 1774, pursuant to notice duly given, the people of this county elected sixty persons for a committee to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association of the General Congress, and the Borough of Lancaster, which was in the first district, elected twelve members. Among these was the subject of this sketch.

He appears in the records to have been present at many of the meetings of the committee, and on April 27, 1775, two days after the news arrived that the Battle of Lexington had been fought, at a meeting of the committee "duly called" at Adam Reigart's tavern, "The Grape," "to consult and determine upon proper and necessary measures to be taken for the general good in the present alarming situation of affairs," he, in company with Edward Shippen, William Atlee, William Bausman, Charles Hall, William Patterson, Casper Shaffner, and Adam Reigart, attended. At a subsequent meeting, held May 1, 1775, at which he was also present, it was "Resolved that it is the unanimous opinion of this committee that it most heartily recommends to the inhabitants of the County of Lancaster immediately to associate and provide themselves with arms and ammunition, and learn the art of military discipline, to enable them to support and defend their just rights and privileges against all arbitrary and despotic invasions by any person or persons whatsoever."

He served in various capacities in the army almost to the date of his death. On August 14, 1776, he was a private in Captain Samuel Boyd's Company of the Flying Camp; on October 21, 1776, he was commissioned Paymaster of the German Battalion, Continental Troops, then commanded by Col. Baron Arendt. His name also appears, from October 4, 1776, to May 22, 1777, on the muster rolls of Captain Daniel Burkhart's Company of this Battalion. From August, 1777, he was on the pay roll of Captain Philip Graybill's Company, and the muster roll of March, 1778, shows him to have been a member of Captain George Hubley's Company. His name last appears on a general pay abstract covering a period from April 1 to May 1, 1778. He was also up to the time of his death one of the agents for the seizing of forfeited estates.

On July 9, 1768, he purchased from Magdalena Wettericken or Wedericken, what was known as "The Brew House." This property was transferred by him on January 4, 1771, to Philip Thomas. On March 12, 1778, it was transferred by

Thomas to Charles Hamilton, and on November 25, 1782, by Hamilton to Mary Michael. The property was located at the southwest corner of South Duke and Mifflin Streets, in this city, and in it Franklin College was started.

Eberhart Michael died on July 16, 1778, and was buried in the German Lutheran graveyard, the officiating clergyman being the Rev. Mr. Helmuth. His holdings at the time of his death consisted solely of personal property, and by reason of the surrounding conditions they greatly depreciated in settlement of his estate.

The Mr. Despard mentioned in the Andre letter was Edward Marcus Despard. He was the youngest of six brothers, all of whom were in the British army, except the oldest. He was born in Queen County, Ireland, in 1751. He entered the army as an Ensign in the Thirtieth Regiment in 1766, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1772, when his Regiment was stationed in Jamaica. He showed a peculiar talent for engineering. He was afterward removed to Canada, and, as a Lieutenant of Captain Peter Dundee's Company of the Seventh Royal Fusileers' Regiment, was captured with Lieutenant Andre at St. John on November 2, 1775. He was brought with Andre to Lancaster on December 9, 1775, and they remained together in this town until March, 1776. They were both then removed to Carlisle. They remained at Carlisle until December, 1776, when they were taken to York, and shortly thereafter were exchanged.

After his exchange, he continued in service in this country until 1779. He was then sent to San Juan, and on his return he was made Captain of the Seventy-eighth Regiment. He was then moved to the West Indies, and he assisted in the taking from Spain of a portion of the Mosquito Coast. He also held a command in Honduras. For distinguished services, he was appointed Colonel of the Provincial forces, and was placed in charge of Yucatan. Here, complaint for misconduct

was brought against him, and he was ordered to England, where, in the spring of 1798, he was imprisoned in Cold Bath Fields. As no formal accusation was, however, made against him, shortly thereafter, he was released. He was however again arrested in the autumn of that year, and he was then imprisoned at the House of Industry, until 1800. He became a soured and embittered man, and headed a conspiracy to murder the King and seize the Bank of England, the Tower and the Government. He was arrested and tried in 1803 for high treason, and, being convicted and sentenced to death, was, with nine of his associates, hung in London. It is a most remarkable coincidence that Andre and Despard, who lived together as officers on parole in this city, both went to their deaths in exactly the same way.

Mr. Wirtz, who is also mentioned in the letter, was Major Christian Wirtz. He was one time a tailor, but, on June 13, 1764, he purchased from Michael Ziegler the Black Horse Hotel, formerly located on North Queen Street, about where Reilly Bros. & Raub's hardware store now stands. He sold this property to Lawrence Herbert on November 22, 1777. In the Directory of 1781, he is set down as a shop keeper, but what merchandise he dealt in I do not know.

He was born in Germany about 1727-8. When he came to this country and to Lancaster, I cannot ascertain. He resided here until about the close of the Revolutionary War, when he moved to Philadelphia. In the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of November 19, 1779, the entry appears: "Christian Wirtz of Lancaster produced a receipt for the sum of Fourteen Thousand Four Hundred Pounds, signed by Charles Wilson Peale, Agent; the same being in full consideration for a house and lott, situate on the southwesterly corner of Walnut and Front Streets (Philadelphia), containing in breadth, north and south, about nineteen feet, and extending east and west eighty feet, late belonging to David Sprout,

seized and sold according to law. . . ." He was Treasurer of the County in 1770.

At a meeting of the Committee of Observation, held May 4, 1775, he agreed that the County should have his powder, being five quarter casks and some pounds loose, at a rate of £15 per cwt., they paying the carriage, and his lead, being about 150 pounds, at 45 pence per cwt.

A military convention, representing fifty-three Battalions of the Associators of Pennsylvania, met in this Borough on July 4, 1776, to choose two Brigadier Generals to command the Battalions. Col. George Ross was President and Col. David Clymer acted as Secretary. Christian Wirtz, as a private, was a delegate to this convention. General Daniel Roberdeau and General James Ewing were elected.

On January 6, 1777, Wirtz was appointed Town Major, for the purpose of guarding the prisoners in the Barracks, the ammunition and the stores in Lancaster, during the absence of the militia, and subsequently he was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council a Commissioner of Purchase for Lancaster County. On January 5, 1781, he was bound over before William Henry, one of the Justices, for refusing to take the State's money at the value of gold and silver, and he appears to have been suspended from his office, for on March 14, 1781, John Miller was appointed in his stead. It was charged that he cried down the State's money, "saying that it is good for nothing and will depreciate; that the price he gives for wheat is too little, that it will be dearer," etc. What became of the charges, I cannot ascertain.

He was also a member of the First Battalion of the Flying Camp.

He died in Philadelphia, in the month of April, 1813, and he was buried from St. John's Lutheran Church in that city on April 8, 1813. He was twice married. The name of his first wife was Margaretha Houser, and of his second, Mary Wynkoop.

The **Rev. Mr. Helmuth** named therein was Rev. Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth. He was born in Helmstaedt, in the Duchy of Brunswick, Germany, on May 16, 1745. His father died when he was yet a boy, and he immediately left home without the knowledge of any of his family. He was overtaken on the road by a nobleman, who, becoming interested in his artless replies, took him into his carriage, and afterwards sent him to Halle, to be educated. He was in his fourteenth year when he entered the Orphan House, and after having passed the prescribed course of study, he became a member of the University. In company with his friend, John I. Schmidt, he was sent to America as a missionary to the Germans, and in 1769, they landed in Philadelphia. Rev. Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg took Mr. Helmuth with him to Lancaster, and the latter preached his first sermon in Trinity Lutheran Church on the fifth Sunday after Easter, 1769. On May 1, 1769, he was called to the pastorate, and he continued pastor of the church until 1779. In 1774, he served three other congregations besides his own. He was, on May 25, 1779, chosen pastor of St. Michael's and Zion Churches, in Philadelphia, and, accepting the call, he removed to that city, where he remained in the service of those churches until 1820.

He was the author of several volumes of prose and verse, and, for a time, he edited the Evangelical Magazine. Among his publications was his "Brief Account of the Yellow Fever (1793)." In this epidemic, 625 of his congregation died, and he at that time spent a large part of his days in the graveyard, burying the dead, and, besides, held daily services in his church.

He was active in founding Franklin College, and appears as one of the petitioners for the charter of that institution. He was one of its first trustees. He afterwards became Professor of German and Oriental Languages in the University of Pennsylvania, and he served as such for eighteen years. When he accepted a professorship in the University, he was obliged to resign his trusteeship in Franklin College, as the

charter of the latter did not permit any of its professors to be members of the Board of Trustees of any other institution. He died in Philadelphia on February 5, 1825, being almost eighty years old. He was buried in front of the cellar in St. Michael's Church, Fifth and Cherry Streets, in the city of Philadelphia, but when St. Michael's Church was torn down in 1874 his bones were removed and were reburied outside at the west end of Zion's Church on Franklin Street.

In July, 1771, during his pastorate, a subscription was opened for a new organ in Trinity Church, and the funds needed were successfully collected. A British officer, who was then a prisoner in Lancaster, thus describes it: "Largest pipe organ in America now in use in the Lutheran Church. Some of the officers went to see this wonderful piece of mechanism, and sent descriptions of it to their homes. Manufacturer had made every part of it with his own hands. It had not only every pipe and stop, but had some pipes of amazing circumference, to be played by the feet, in addition to the regular keys," etc.

H. Graff, mentioned in the letter, most likely stands for Hans Graff. There was no one of that name or that initial—at least of sufficient prominence to be inquired about,—living here in 1776, and, particularly, who would have maps to send to Andre. There were, however, here, two prominent men of the name of Graff, Andrew Graff and Sebastian Graff. They were the sons of Sebastian Graff, who was born at Offenheim, Germany, and died here about 1771. There was, also, an older brother, Matthias Graff, who does not appear to have been of any great importance, though he lived in Lancaster, and in 1777 was Assistant Burgess of the Borough. The original Graff, who came from Germantown to this county, was Hans Graff. He, however, died in 1746. George Graff who became President of the Farmers Bank, was born in 1857, and was then too young to have figured in this matter. As the Graffs

were Germans, it is likely that one of them was nicknamed Hans Graff. Of course, this is only surmise.

Andrew Graff was born September 15, 1740. He, also, was a member of the Committee of Observation, and was Captain of a Company in the Revolutionary War, referred to as Captain Andrew Graff's Company. On March 5, 1787, he was commissioned as one of the Justices of the various Courts; but, with his colleagues, was, by the Act of April 13, 1791, passed in pursuance of the Constitution of 1790, legislated out of office. A President Judge and four Associate Judges were then appointed and commissioned to perform the duties of the former Justices, and William Augustus Atlee became President Judge, and his associates were Robert Coleman, John Whitehill, Frederick Kuhn and James Clemson. Andrew Graff was, however, commissioned as Associate Judge on September 13, 1792, and served in this office until January 5, 1811, when he resigned. He died suddenly on January 15, 1816, and is buried in the Moravian graveyard.

Sebastian Graff was a farmer, living in Lancaster Township. He owned large tracts of land immediately east of the then Borough of Lancaster, included in which was the old Ranck's Mill site, and he also owned the land in the Borough where the Lancaster Cemetery is located. He was born on March 22, 1744. He was active during those stirring times which immediately preceded and covered the beginning of the Revolutionary War. He was first elected to the Committee of Observation from Manheim Township (First District) on December 15, 1774, and his name appears at all of the meetings of that Committee, reported in the Archives of the State, up to November 9, 1775. He was mustered in at Philadelphia on July 16, 1776, as First Lieutenant of Captain Andrew Graff's Company. He was, in 1787, a delegate to the State

Convention, which ratified the Federal Constitution, and was, also, in 1789, elected a member of the Convention, which framed the State Constitution of 1790. In the year 1790, with Michael Schmyser and Adam Huble, Jr., he represented this county in the State Senate. He died on July 2, 1791, and was buried in the Moravian graveyard. Subsequently his remains were moved to the Lancaster Cemetery, where they now rest.

The **Mr. Slough** named in the postscript of the Andre letter was Col. Mathias Slough. He was the son of Johann Jacob Schlauch (Slough), who was born on August 15, 1708, and who married Ursala Elizabeth Steiner on January 2, 1733. The father died on May 24, 1750. Mathias Slough came to Lancaster with his father in 1747, but whether from Germany or some part of America I cannot ascertain. He was born on October 16, 1733. He married Mary, daughter of George Gibson. Jacob Slough, on March 6, 1747, purchased a lot, 64 ft. 4½ in. x 150 ft., located on the southeast corner of Penn Square and South Queen Street, and he there built the famous Swan Tavern, afterwards kept by the Hubleys. The will of Jacob Slough is dated September 20, 1749, and, though deposited in the Register's office on June 27, 1750, it was not proven until October 30, 1765. This fact shows that the statement that "he did not open the hotel until about 1754" is incorrect, for he was then dead. In his will, he devised to his son Mathias Slough, "The house and lot where I now live," subject to certain money charges in favor of his widow and daughters. When the father or the son commenced to keep the hotel cannot be now ascertained from the records of the Court of Quarter Sessions, as one of the books covering the earliest period is lost and the others are very imperfectly kept. The Governor, then, upon the recommendation of the Court, granted licenses, and there may be some records at Harrisburg upon the subject. Nor do the later records contain much accurate information.

They show that he was the holder of a license in 1761 and continued to hold one up to 1776, but from that time on nothing appears in any of the record books now at command. It is said in Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County, that he kept the stand until 1806.

The first public office which Mathias Slough held was that of Assistant Burgess. He served in this position from 1757 to 1761 inclusive. He was Coroner of the county from 1755 to 1768, and, as such, held the inquest on the Conestoga Indians, who were murdered by the Paxtang Boys on December 27, 1763. He was also County Treasurer from 1763 to 1769. He was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1773 and 1774, and of the General Assembly, from this county, in 1780-83.

In pursuance of a letter received from the Committee of Correspondence of the City and County of Philadelphia, a meeting of the citizens of Lancaster County was called on June 15, 1774, to protest against the invasion of the rights of American citizens by the mother country. At this meeting, Edward Shippen, George Ross, Jasper Yeates, Mathias Slough, James Webb, Ludwig Lauman, William Bausman and Charles Hall were appointed a committee to correspond with the general committee at Philadelphia. He was present as one of the eight delegates from Lancaster County at a meeting of the deputies, chosen by the counties of the state, held at Philadelphia, on July 15, 1775. When the County Committee of Observation took an account, on May 4, 1775, of the amount of lead and powder available, he placed his stock, consisting of four quarter casks of powder, at the rate of £15 per cwt., and 200 pounds of lead, at 45 pence per lb., at its disposal. He, as an officer of the Seventh Lancaster County Battalion, was present at the meeting of the delegates representing the battalions for the purpose of electing Brigadier Generals. This has been fully referred to in another sketch. This and other meetings of like character were held at Slough's Hotel.

On May 2, 1777, thirteen persons were appointed by the War Office to supply the army with blankets, shoes and clothing. Col. Slough was one of the number. He was also one of a committee of twelve to take charge of Dr. John Kearsly and I. Brooks, who were arrested for "being concerned in and endeavor to procure British troops to invade Pennsylvania and the other colonies," etc. Andrew Graff was also on this committee. Nothing came of the proceeding, and one of the prisoners broke jail and escaped.

He was Colonel of the Seventh Battalion. It was one of the thirteen battalions raised in this county. It was ordered to Philadelphia in the summer of 1776. From thence, it was sent to join the Flying Camp, in New Jersey, and it appeared in the Camp on July 8, 1776. On August 27, 1776, he took part in the Battle of Long Island. The battalion completed its service and returned to Lancaster in the fall of that year, and it was then used in guarding the prisoners of war confined in Lancaster and Lebanon. On January 6, 1777, the State Council ordered the battalion to Philadelphia, and this about finished his military career.

When the first prisoners arrived from Canada, no provision had been made for their support. He, therefore, proposed to the committee that he would supply rations for them, and the offer was accepted. He furnished the necessary supplies, and was subsequently reimbursed by the government.

Col. Slough was one of the fifty-four charter members of the Lancaster Library Company, which was afterwards better known as the Juliana Library. In 1780, in company with others, he started an Academy in the borough, and on June 22, 1782, was elected one of its curators. He was also an early, if not a charter, member of the Union Fire Company. He was also one of the Commissioners named in the Act of Assembly to secure subscriptions for the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, the first turnpike built in the United States, and was afterwards one of the five superintendents who had in charge its construction. Subsequently, he became interested

in stage lines, particularly the one from Lancaster to Philadelphia, which ran every Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

An incident of these early times appears in the Quarter Session Docket of November Sessions, 1756. It is there stated that Mathias Slough had an indentured servant named Michael Feeman, who ran away but was afterwards retaken. He therefore presented his petition to the Court asking that Feeman should be adjudged to serve him and his assigns for runaway time, and expenses to the amount of £18, 16 s., 6 d., whereupon the Court ordered that Feeman should serve two years over and above the term specified in the Indenture in consideration of "the loss of time, charges and expenses."

Col. Slough owned a large amount of real estate immediately east of the borough, and on February 26, 1799, he sold to the Directors of the Poor and House of Employment, for £3,129, 7, 16, a tract of land, containing 84 acres and 152 perches, most of which is yet owned by them. On this tract was built the stone building now used as the County Hospital. Slough's Mill stood to the east of the county land, on the site of the Old City Water Works. His daughter, Mary, was the third wife of Governor Simon Snyder. Another of his daughters, Fannie, was an accomplished pianist, and one of her favorite pieces was "The Rose Tree in Full Bloom." The first wife of the Governor was Elizabeth Michael, daughter of Eberhart Michael. During Col. Slough's later years, he moved to Harrisburg, where some of his children resided, and he died there on September 13, 1812. There is an entry on the records of Trinity Lutheran Church that he was buried in the English Cemetery. The English Cemetery of this town was St. James Episcopal Churchyard. It is however claimed by some persons that he was buried in Harrisburg and that there was a cemetery in that place known as the English Cemetery. As the proofs are not conclusive I do not pretend to definitely state the place of his burial. His financial operations were unfortunate, and it is said that when he died he was bankrupt.

A fuller account of this distinguished man than that which

I now give was presented and read before you in 1901, and it is reported in Vol. 6 of the proceedings of this society, at page 139. Anyone, therefore, who desires more particular information concerning him is referred thereto.

Mr. Hillegas, who is mentioned in the letter of Eberhart Michael, was most likely Michael Hillegas. He was a son of Michael and Margaret Hillegas. His father was born in Alsace in 1696, and died in Philadelphia on October 30, 1749. The son was born in the city of Philadelphia on April 22, 1728, O. S. He, on May 10, 1753, married Henrietta Boude. He was a prominent merchant and a refiner of sugars, and he was also interested in the manufacture of iron.

In 1762, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to select a site and erect Fort Mifflin, and the following year he was elected to the Provincial Assembly, in which he continued to represent Philadelphia until 1775. In 1774, he was a member of the Committee of Observance for the City and County of Philadelphia, and in 1775 and 1776, he was a member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. At a meeting held to consider the Boston Port Bill, he was named as one of the committee of forty-three. He was treasurer of the Committee of Safety. On July 21, 1775, Richard Bache, Stephen Paschall and Michael Hillegas were appointed to superintend the press and to have the oversight and care of printing bills of credit ordered to be struck off by Congress; and on July 29, 1775, he and George Clymer were appointed joint treasurers of the United Colonies by the Congress. Upon the death of Mr. Clymer, he became the sole treasurer, and, by election, from time to time, he continued in this office until 1789.

On April 2, 1791, the Assembly of this state resolved "That Michael Hillegas be requested and empowered to revise, compare, correct and publish, in one volume, the Resolves of the Committee of the late Province of Pennsylvania, with their instructions to their representatives, in Assembly held at

Philadelphia, 15 July, 1774; the Proceedings of the Convention for the Province of Pennsylvania held at Philadelphia 23 January, 1775; the Proceedings of the Provincial Conference Committees held at Carpenter's Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, 18 June, 1776; the Declaration of Independence by the United States made 4 July, 1776; the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, 15 July, 1776, with the Constitution; the Minutes of the Assemblies of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the end of the present year; and the Articles of Confederation of the United States of America." This volume in folio was published in 1782.

Mr. Hillegas was one of the original subscribers to the Bank of Pennsylvania, his subscription being four thousand pounds. He was also a member of the American Philosophical Society. In 1792, he was one of the Aldermen of the City of Philadelphia. On April 23, 1784, he was, in conjunction with Tenche Francis, appointed by the Supreme Executive Council, Commissioner to divide and sell the ground on which the Barracks in the Northern Liberties were built.

He died at Philadelphia on September 29, 1804, and his remains rest beside those of his wife, in Christ Church graveyard, Fifth and Arch Sts., Philadelphia. He had a son, Samuel Hillegas, whose name also appears in the old records.

Mr. Thomas, who is mentioned by Eberhart Michael was Ensign Robert Thomas. Where he was born and where he came from I have not up to this time been able to ascertain. He however entered the 26th Regiment of Foot in the British Colonial Service on March 2, 1770. He was stationed at St. John, and, with Andre, was captured by the American Forces on November 2, 1775. He was brought as a prisoner to Lancaster on December 11, 1775, and he was subsequently taken to York, where he was on parole. All of the persons named in these letters were friends in Lancaster. On December 8,

1776, he was exchanged for Pennsylvania "Muscateer," Ensign Michael App.

On October 31, 1776, he was promoted to a lieutenantcy in the 26th Regiment of Foot; and his name continues in the records of the British Army until 1779, when it disappears. Whether he was killed in battle, died from other causes or resigned I have not yet learned.

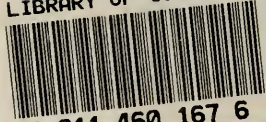
C. Baily, who is also mentioned by Eberhart Michael was Capt. James William Baillie. Eberhart Michael was apparently a little short of paper, as will be seen by the autograph copy of his letter to Andre. He therefore abbreviated, and the C. Baily stands for Captain Baily. James William Baillie entered the British Service on April 19, 1762, as a Lieutenant of the 7th Regiment. He was promoted to a Captaincy in this Regiment on June 3, 1774. He was at St. John, Canada, and was, upon its surrender, captured there. He was brought with other British officers, of whom Andre was one, to Lancaster, and was afterwards removed to Carlisle. The report of George Stevenson to the Council of Safety shows that he was in Carlisle on October 1, 1776. He was like all his fellow officers finally exchanged, but the exact date and for whom I cannot at this time say.

In 1781 he was appointed extra Major of Brigade, and on March 19, 1783, he was made full Major. From 1785 to 1792 he was Fort Major at Fort George, Inverness, Scotland. On September 1, 1790, he was appointed Lieutenant of the Invalids, and in 1802 Major of the 6th Regiment North British Garrison Battalion. His name appears on the rolls of the British Army until 1805, and it then disappears. When he was born and where, and when he died I cannot say. These facts might be ascertained in the British War Office, but my time has been too limited to make inquiry there.

And now my task has been completed. I have introduced you to every person named in both of these letters. The sketches are as complete as I at this time can make them. If the result is, that you have been entertained half as much in hearing the story, as I have been in gathering together the facts embraced therein, I am more than compensated for the labor thereby occasioned.



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